1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

727 Porter (24, pp. 88-89) describes plundering by his victorious allies:

> The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of drums, mats, callabashes, and other household untensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them.

Stealing the enemies' images was the custom with victorious parties. Unless the attack was very sudden it is probable that none of the personal property of a people would be secured by the victors, with the exception of the ornaments worn by slain warriors, for the women of the defeated warriors used to pack up in small bundles all the portable wealth and carry it away with them.

[778] When the warriors of a tribe were completely defeated, the whole tribe took flight from their valley. There were no sacred places of refuge in the Marquesas. Sometimes a defeated people would be able to come back into their devastated valley, but sometimes it was held by the conqueror, and the refugees had to find homes elsewhere in a deserted region or among friendly tribes. A victorious chief would sometimes be clement and allow the defeated tribe to stay in their valley. Before a battle women, [722] children and old men either took refuge in a place of refuge or in the mountains or held themselves in readiness for flight in their valley. It is said that old men and women were often left, and were massacred and eaten by the victors (14, pp. 85-86). Frequently tribes that expected attack and the consequent necessity of flight had canoes built and held in readiness for escape by sea. Defeated people were called on Hiva Oa *po'i hina* (*po'i*, people; *hina*, overthrown) and on Nuku Hiva *moehu*. Refugees might be absorbed by the victorious tribe but they were never made slaves or vassals. Dordillion gives *tapu hao fenua* as the name of a festival after the defeat of a war party (9).

CAPTIVES OF WAR

From the manuscript of Dordillon come the following notes regarding the war ceremonial. When a victim was captured in battle, he was brought to the dance area and presented to the ceremonial priest who was wearing a coconut leaf headdress. The warriors stood around, and, led by the priest, they cried, *"Ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka."* The god then entered into his priest and cried through his mouth *"A u u u u-a! Au u u u-a! Mai te mata! Mai te mata!"* (Enter in! Enter in! Bring the eyes! Bring the eyes!) The old men singers forming the chorus assisting at the rite, cried, *"Aua!"* three times. (It is evident that the scene of activity was then transferred to the temple attached to the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

feast place.) *Ka'aku* was then put in the mouth of the inspirational priest with the back of the hand, also pork and fish, which he ate—this was the feeding of the god through his priest. When the war was over, the tribal god would say through his priest, "Celebrate a festival in my honor." A house of the same form as the dwelling was made at the feast place. *Popoi* was prepared, fish in baskets, pig, and so on. The ceremonial priest cried out an invitation to the feast, naming the victuals. The pigs were then divided among the different allies. On the next day the feast was opened by the ceremonial priest, who shouted the announcement that all was ready. After the feast there was dancing to the beating of drums and then all the people went home.

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TAPU GOVERNING WARRIORS

It has already been said that any association with women during war was forbidden to warriors. Pēre Siméon (7) states also that *kava* drinking was forbidden. If a man quarreled with his mother before going into battle, he would surely be slain. After a man had made a killing, either in war or otherwise, he was *tapu* for ten days (18, p. 133). During this time he could not cook for himself and he had to be served by another. Like a warrior, a gun or spear which had killed a man was *tapu* for ten days; and such a weapon was given the name of its victim (9).

726
784

TAPU GOVERNING WOMEN IN WARTIME

There were a number of *tapu* that applied to women during wartime. They were not allowed to let down their hair, nor to light a fire, nor to eat; they could not associate with their warrior husbands after war until the men had been purified; and while active fighting was going on, they could not sleep in the sleeping house but must sleep in the dance area *(tohua)* (9). Women were allowed to eat with their husbands on the morning preceding the combat. According to one informant, the women were obliged to fast until the return of the warriors. Women could prevent war by uttering a curse on the road over which the warriors would have to pass—"The road leading to battle is my *pudendum.*" If warriors passed over the road that had been thus named by a woman, it was believed that they would surely be massacred (9).

722
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784

After returning from war, warriors were not allowed to eat with the women until their *tapu* (sacredness) had been removed by bathing in the sea—only after the warriors had thus been freed, were their wives allowed to let down their hair. After a victory, heads of conquered enemies were paraded in the valley of the victors (9 and 4). Dordillon gives *va'a'ani*

726
784

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

War

721 Wars were constantly being waged between tribes. One of the principal incentives to warfare was the need for captives for human sacrifice. Human sacrifices were demanded by the gods and were also necessary for the deification of dead chiefs and inspirational priests. Another cause for war was blood revenge, for whenever a member of the tribe was captured or killed, his relatives had to avenge him.

The economic motive in war was not of great importance. Since most of the wars were in the nature of rapid raids carried on along the borders, the invaders did not actually get into the territory of the other tribe and therefore neither carried off a substantial amount of goods nor drove the enemies off their land. However, in individual fighting, the victorious warrior 727 was permitted to claim the weapons and ornaments of his vic- 301 tim and also, if possible, to carry off the body of the dead enemy to be eaten. In such an event the head was kept as a trophy and the warrior usually took the name of the man he had killed. These skulls were carefully prepared, and were worn at the belt at dances and on war parade. Hands of victims were also sometimes dried and worn as waist ornaments. If a warrior acquired too many skulls to be worn conveniently in this fashion, he would cut them up and wear only a section of each. If the victim was a woman, the warrior might not keep the skull, but he would cut off the genitals, dry them, and wear them attached to a lock of his hair. The long bones were kept and utilized for ornaments, decorative handles for food vessels, etc.

726 When engaged in formal war, the men lived in a special 722 house which was taboo to women. They were allowed no relations with women at this time, since abstinence was believed to increase their fighting power. The women were also subject to taboos at this time; they had to sleep in the grandstands of the assembly place; they could not light a fire, bathe, or let down their hair; they could eat with their husbands only on the morning before the men went to battle. The younger women followed the army and cheered from the background, rejoicing over captives.